ILLUSTRATIONS

FROM THE

LIFE OF BERTRAND DUGUESCLIN

BY

JEAN CUVELIER

C. 1400 A.D.

Folio 1. The Poet presents his Book to the King

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FROM A MANUSCRIPT OF ABOUT 1400 A.D. IN THE LIBRARY OF

HENRY YATES THOMPSON

No. C

Folio 8. The Tournament at Rennes

LONDON: PRINTED AT THE CHISWICK PRESS
1909

PRELIMINARY

IT is strange that the author of this enormous poem is only once alluded to by any contemporary writer. Philippe de Maizieres in the "Songe du Viel Pélerin" casually mentions him as a "poure homme appelé Cimelier" (a poor fellow named Cimelier), and classes him among the writers of "hystoires honnestes morales et devottes," and yet his poem of more than 20,000 lines contains the only contemporary record of the sayings and doings of the first great national hero of France, the predecessor by about half a century of the Maid of Orleans. How closely their lives approached one another is shown by the touching circumstance that the widow of Bertrand Duguesclin, Jeanne de Laval, who was still living in 1429, forty-nine years after the death of her husband, sent a message of sympathy to Joan of Arc, in return for which the Maid sent her a little gold ring.

Cuvelier has been rightly called the last of the troubadours. His poem was written for recitation rather than for reading. It was evidently popular, as manuscripts of it still extant are not very rare. I know, however, none with illustrations, though I should be glad to be informed of any such, and it is for this reason that I have made this special study of the manuscript which I possess, which would otherwise have figured simply as No. C in my catalogue of the third series of one hundred illuminated manuscripts.

On the next leaf may be seen portraits of Charles V and many members of his Court, among whom (No. 10) is Bertrand Duguesclin. He is placed just under his royal master, and carries his wand of office as Constable of France and his crest on an emblazoned coat.


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Phototypie Berthaud, Paris

CHARLES V RECEVANT L'HOMMAGE DE LOUIS II, DUC DE BOURBON, POUR LE COMITÉ DE CLERMONT EN BEAUVAISIS.

1. CHARLES V. — 2. LOUIS DE BOURBON. — 3. CHARLES, DAUPHIN. — 4. LOUIS D'ORLÉANS. — 5. LOUIS D'ANJOU. — 6. PHILIPPE DE BOURGOGNE. — 7. JEAN DUC DE BERRY. — 8. JEAN D'ARTOIS, COMTE D'EU. — 9. PIERRE D'ORGEMONT. — 10. DU GUESCLIN. — 11. LOUIS DE SANCERRE. — 12. MOUTON DE BLAINVILLE. — 13. HUGUES DE CHATILLON. — 14. JEAN DE VIENNE. — 15. EDOUARD DE BEAUJEU. — 16. CHAUMONT. — 17. GILLES DE NÉDONCHEL. — 18. RENAUD DE TRIE. — 19. JEAN, BATARD DE BOURBON. — 20. PIERRE D'AUNY. — 21. LA POYPE (?).

LIFE OF BERTRAND DUGUESCLIN

By JEAN CUVELIER

No. C

BOUGHT at Sotheby's, July, 1901, at the sale of Lord Ashburnham's Barrois MSS., among which it was numbered 112.

Vellum, 12 by $8\frac{7}{8}$ in., ff. 289 (the last folio is blank, and its immediate predecessor has been cut out. The poem ends on folio 288v). On each page one column of thirty-three lines. French, c. 1400.

Collation: A^8-Z^8, Aa^8-Dd^8, Ee^7, Ff^8, Gg^7, Hh^8, Ii^8, Kk^7, Ll^8-Nn^8, Oo^6.

Binding: eighteenth century olive, or blue (faded), morocco. French, gilt edges.

Provenance: this volume formed part of the Library of the Duc de la Vallière (no. 2778), according to a note at the beginning, where is also inserted a printed description, taken, I suppose, from the Duke's catalogue: "Manuscrit sur vélin du XV siècle, contenant 288 feuillets. Il est écrit en ancienne bâtarde, à longues lignes, et decoré de 14 miniatures, peintes en camaieu. Les lettres tourneures sont réhaussées d'or." The writer further states that the poem contains 18,400 lines and quotes line 23, in which the writer is named

Cilz qui le mist en rime cueuliers est nommez.

and states that he died before 1389, quoting a passage from "Le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin," which speaks of him as dead under the name of "Cimilier."

The coat of arms on pages 8 and 129 is of the Crèvecœur family and may refer the first ownership of the book to Jacques de Crèvecœur, who died about 1441. This gentleman had a varied career, having in 1418 commanded Burgundians against the Dauphin (afterwards Charles VII), while in 1428 he was Governor of Clermont for the King of England. He had the Toison d'Or in 1435, when he was present with

the Duke of Burgundy (Philippe le Bon), at the conclusion of the Treaty of Arras. Subsequently he took part in the war against the English, and in 1439 was chosen to receive Charles VII's daughter, who was to marry the Count of Charolais, afterwards Charles the Bold. If made for Jacques de Crèvecœur this manuscript was clearly written before 1435, as otherwise the Toison d'Or would not be omitted from the arms. It was probably written quite early in the fifteenth century.

Cuvelier's Life of Duguesclin in verse was written about 1380. A prose translation was made in 1387, seven years after the death of the hero. It was printed for the first time at length by Mr. E. Charrière, Paris, 1839, who considers it of the highest historical importance, and classes it with Froissart's Chronicles and the Latin Chronicle of the second continuer of Nangis. These three authors, he says, recount the same events, each viewing them from his special standpoint: Froissart looking at affairs through the glasses of the great, the nobles and courtiers and fine ladies, while the monk of Nangis takes always the view of a Parisian bourgeois, respectable and temperate, and is in fact the first sober historian of French affairs. Cuvelier's point of view differs from either of the above. He represents the Democratic spirit of his age, which was opposed to all the sentiments that the monk of Nangis most respected, but yet had a hankering for the social order as it then existed, in this resembling Philip van Artevelde who led the Ghent mob to victory and then promptly got a coat of arms and became a grand Seigneur himself.

The chief events related by Cuvelier are:

(i) the War of Succession in Brittany,

(ii) the Expedition to Spain,

(iii) the Expulsion of the English from France.

Duguesclin, born in 1320, flourished under three Kings of France, Philip of Valois (1328 to 1350), Jean II, le Bon (1350 to 1364), and Charles V, le Sage (1364 to 1380). His active life coincided with Edward III's reign (1335 to 1369), he being fifteen years old when Edward began to reign and surviving King Edward by eleven years. His military career embraced the period of English triumph, Crècy (1346), Poitiers (1356). It included also the Peace of Brétigny (1360), when the King of England renounced the French crown, with Normandy and most of the subject French provinces, and the period of French victories, which may be said to have culminated about the time (1369), when Edward III died and Duguesclin was made Constable of France.

I will now proceed to give a short epitome of the life of Duguesclin, illustrated by verses from Cuvelier's poem and pictures from the manuscript copy of it which I have been describing.

PART I

THE WAR OF SUCCESSION IN BRITTANY

THE first of these pictures (fol. 1), occupies the upper half of the page and represents the King on his throne, presumably Charles VI, whose reign began in 1380 and lasted twenty-two years after the date (c. 1400) of the writing of this book. The King is represented as a young man, with a youthful beard. He is seated, crowned, under a canopy and receives the book, evidently a heavy one, from a kneeling cleric, who offers it with both hands. Six courtiers, three on either side, attend the King. Two of them have boots of the long pointed type then fashionable; they seem to have been about 18 inches long, and indicate that the knights rode more than they walked. This, like the other miniatures, is painted in grisaille. Unluckily the page is a good deal injured, apparently from having been unprotected by a binding during some portion of its career. A border, gracefully designed in the style of the period, envelops the picture and sixteen lines of the text, and a handsome initial S begins the poem with:

> Seigneurs or entendez par dieu le roy divin
> Car nr̃e sire dieu qui de l'eaue fist vin
> Le jour qu'il fut aus noces du saint Archedeclin
> Vous veuille tous garder et donner bon fin.

> My Lords attend. May God, our King divine,
> May God our Lord, who made the water wine,
> That day when married was Saint Archedecline
> Preserve you all and give my tale good fine.

See the miniature facing the title-page in which "Cuvelier presents his book to the King."

The birth of Bertrand is first recorded and how his father and mother lived in Brittany, six leagues from Rennes, near the village of Bron, "ou il y a Chastel grant." His father was a poor knight of good family, his mother a "moult gentilz dame et de moult bel semblant."

Mais l'enfant dont je dis et dont je vous vois parlant
Je croy qu'il nust si loy de Rennes a Dinant.

But the boy that I tell of, the little Bertrand,
Was the ugliest boy between Rennes and Dinant.

This ugliness (*loy* is old French for *laid*), was his characteristic all his life. Witness his portrait in an early printed edition of his life, Paris 1517, and in the miniature from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale reproduced at the beginning of this volume. It is quite possible that the figure at the King's right hand with a sword, in the opening page of the present manuscript is meant for Duguesclin as Constable of France. If so, however, it would be an anachronism, as Duguesclin died in 1380, and Charles V immediately after. More probably the King represented in this manuscript is Charles VI as a young man, somewhere between 1380 and 1390. The first prose version of Cuvelier's poem was issued, as previously stated, in 1387. But to return to our hero. The first gleam of hope that interrupted the gloom of his miserable childhood was occasioned by the visit of a certain nun to his father's château. She found the mother sitting at table in the hall, her two younger sons being placed beside her, while Bertrand sat on a little stool apart with the servants. The nun, who, we are told, was a converted Jewess, "Juisve avait este en sa reynacion," had been summoned to prescribe for some ailment of my lady. But, instead of prescribing, after making her reverence, "La converse lui fist moult noble affliccion," she looks round, and spying the little ugly Bertrand, she at once addresses him and gives him her blessing, and prophecies his glorious future, and how all France will come to honour him. The manuscript from which M. Charrière takes his translation contains a longer dialogue between the lady and the converted Jewess, in which the mother sums up her charges against her boy in the following spirited couplet:

Il est nices et lours, sens ne maniere n'a
Pleut a Dieu qu'il fust mors! Desire l'ai pieça

He's an ignorant lout, an unmannerly dunce,
Would God he were dead! as I've said more than once.

After this we may suppose he was better treated; but he went on getting into all sorts of scrapes, and finally ran away from home to an uncle and aunt who lived at Rennes. It is while he is with them that the first great event of his life occurs. Cuvelier tells the story in a

charmingly simple manner, and it is illustrated in this manuscript by the first of the series of fourteen small miniatures (see the coloured reproduction given on the title-page). There was a great tournament held at Rennes in the year 1338. All the chivalry of Brittany was there.

> Joustent cil chevalier de grande randonnée
> Est cil bon escuier de Bretagne la lée

> Every knight of renown at those jousts you might see
> Every stout squire came pricking from broad Brittany.

And again

> De Bretons Bretonnans fu grande la levée

So that all Brittany, the level tracts adjoining Normandy and the Celtic fringe from the fiords that border the Atlantic, was represented, and the cause of all this gathering was the marriage of Jeanne, Countess of Penthièvre with Charles of Châtillon, Count of Blois, which led to the War of Succession that soon after broke out between the partisans of Jean de Montfort and Charles of Blois, the bridegroom, the bone of contention being the Duchy of Brittany, and the future hero of the war being the obscure youth, who for lack of arms and a horse, could take no part in the tournament. He, poor fellow, wandered about the streets of Rennes, lamenting and disconsolate. Were he but equipped he would enter the lists and get honour and applause, as Cuvelier puts it,

> More than Roland who perished at Ronceval,
> Or Gauvain, or Arthur, or Perceval.

Happily, just then, he meets a squire, his cousin, returning from the tournament, tired out with his exertions, and beseeches him to lend his horse and armour. The friendly cousin promptly consents and helps him to don his armour. He then enters the lists, vizor down, and fourteen times he tilts with success. The fifteenth time he is unhelmed in his turn, and his father and all the company see with astonishment that the despised and ugly youth is now a valorous and skilful knight. In the animated picture which represents the scene, the opposing knight's spear is on the point of thrusting back Bertrand's helmet. His father, recognizable by the crest on his shield, a double headed eagle, is just behind Bertrand. Five other knights, each, like Bertrand, wearing an enormous fancy helmet, are charging on their white or black steeds, while trumpeters, two on either side, blow lustily

to encourage the combatants (see the coloured reproduction given on the title-page from folio 8).

The first episode in Duguesclin's military life was during the War of Succession in Brittany. He took the side of Charles of Blois, and raised a company of sixty men. He was a partisan leader, a sort of guerilla chief. To raise sixty men and treat them handsomely required money. So he burst open his mother's jewel-box, and appropriated her valuables, to his mother's great disgust. She was well pleased, however, when he returned the money in a few days from the spoils of an English knight, whom he slew when the latter was on his way to join Robert Bramborc in the Fort of Forgeray. The English were too strong to be openly attacked, and Cuvelier describes the future Constable's mode of warfare thus:

> Il se tint es forests et par nuit chevaucha
> Et de nuit et de jour plante d'Englois greva.
>
> He kept the woods by day, and by night he rode abroad,
> And many a gallant Englishman fell victim to his sword.

He was soon however to distinguish himself by a spirited attack on the fort of Forgeray. His spies informed him that Robert Bramborc and his formidable company had left the castle to try conclusions with Charles of Blois, and that the fort was left with a very weak garrison. He proceeded therefore to disguise himself and some of his men as woodcutters and, having left the main body of his little force in ambush in a neighbouring wood, approached the castle, and began bargaining for his faggots with the cook and other servants who had been left behind in the castle, and whom he finally persuaded to let down the drawbridge.

See Plate I, fol. 16, "The Surprise of Forgeray."

The artist shows us the fort, the drawbridge let down, the great faggots which prevent it being raised, Bertrand plunging his sword into the porter, while a party of his men emerge from a neighbouring wood ready to assist. The capture of Forgeray was Duguesclin's first notable success. He achieved it in 1354, when he was thirty-four years old.

From the surprise of Forgeray to the capture of Pestien, the next action illustrated by the miniaturist, Cuvelier recounts in some 1,000 lines the doings of Duguesclin in the vicinity of Rennes, which the

Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt, was besieging, and the siege of which town he was forced to raise. He also tells of the siege of Dinant and Bertrand's duel with Thomas of Canterbury, and the public fête held in honour of his victory. Next comes the treaty between Montfort and Charles of Blois, which leads to no result, after which we reach the assault of Pestien.

See Plate II, fol. 51. "The taking of Pestien."

Duguesclin was at Guincamp when news came of atrocities committed by the people of Pestien. He tells them to prepare for a fight, and declares "Je vous deliverrai de cette gent tirant." He marches, no longer with a company of sixty followers, but with a fine array of 6,000 men, and his fame is so great that when a spy tells the Governor of Pestien that the men of Guincamp are on their way to attack them, he adds, as something still more dreadful, "Et il mainent avec eulx ce déable Bertrand." A desperate assault follows. In the picture two scenes are combined; Bertrand is represented negotiating with the garrison, while his bowmen are shooting their arrows and the defenders are defending themselves, one firing a crossbow, while another hurls a great rock from above the long shield which guards the door. In this, as in other pictures, Bertrand is distinguishable by his double-headed eagle on coat and banner. The capture of Pestien was in 1364, Duguesclin being forty-four years old, and a leader of repute. The fortunes of France were now at the lowest. Poitiers, eight years before, had been a crushing defeat. King John was a prisoner in London; the chivalry of France was almost annihilated. Successes, such as the capture of Pestien, were in Brittany only and of small account. A more important advantage was the capture of Melun on the Seine, by the Dauphin aided by Duguesclin. The siege was fruitful in incident. The resistance of the besieged was formidable. When things were beginning to look hopeless Duguesclin distinguished himself by a feat of gallantry which in our day would surely have been rewarded by the Victoria Cross. It is recorded by Cuvelier, and is a fair specimen of his style.

Lors Bertrand du Guesclin un po se retourna
Une eschiele choisi, a sa main le dreça:
Tost et isnellement sur son col le posa,
Et se fist tant aidier et si se pena
Qu'il est venu au mur, ou l'eschiele adjousta.
Et quant le ducs le vit, a sa gent demanda:

"Qui est cilz," dit li ducs, "qui ainsi monte la?"
Un chevalier li dist "Oy avez pieça
De Bertrand du Guesclin, où tant de proesce a
Qui es fais de Bretaigne tant de paine endura
Pour votre cousin Charles qui demeure de la."
"Est il?" ce dit li ducs, "pour Dieu qui tout crea."
"Oyl, sire, par Dieu, onques tel ne regna."
"Par mon chef," dit le ducs, "bon chevalier y a."

Or in English:

Brave Bertrand Duguesclin then turned him about
Where the ladders were stored, and a strong one picked out,
And shouldered it promptly, and strode to the wall,
Where they planted it firmly in sight of us all.
And when the Duke saw him climb up in the air,
"Who is that," said the Duke, "who is mounting up there?"
Quoth a knight "He's a man you have heard of before
Stout Bertrand Duguesclin, a famed warrior,
Whose deeds in Bretaigne were well known when he fought
For your cousin Prince Charles, as a true Breton ought."
"Is't so?" cried the Duke, "by God's infinite might."
"Yea, sire, and he's second to none at a fight."
"By my head," said the Duke, "he's an excellent knight."

See Plate III, fol. 62. "The siege of Melun."

It will be seen that the artist combines three scenes in one picture. On the left Duguesclin is parleying with the garrison; in the centre he is mounting the ladder as described in the above extract, and on the right men are digging a mine, while others fight. It is remarkable that Duguesclin when parleying with the garrison has his left hand not on a sword but on a pickaxe, as though his main reliance in this case was on mining. The Duke (*ducs* as he is here spelt), is the Duke of Normandy, the Dauphin, afterwards Charles V, now acting regent of the Kingdom during his father King John's detention in London. According to Cuvelier, the Dauphin returned to Paris before Melun was taken, and its subsequent surrender was arranged by the Queen Blanche, widow of Philip of Valois, and sister of Charles of Navarre, who happened to be in Melun when besieged, and who may have been supposed to be not unfriendly to the French Government. Duguesclin was now a favourite of the Dauphin and was made Captain of Pontorson in recognition of his services.

We next come to one of our hero's most decisive victories, the battle of Coquerel. For some reason Cuvelier's account of Coquerel is

not one of his happiest efforts. Froissart beats him hollow. He relates how Jean de Grailly, called Captal de Buch, assembled his forces in Évreux; how they numbered seven hundred lances ("brigands," he calls them, from the brigantines (cuirasses) which they wore), three hundred archers, and five hundred handy-men (*hommes aidables*). Among his best knights was an Englishman, John Jovel, who took no small part in the coming battle. Issuing from Évreux on May 15th, the Wednesday of Pentecost, they seek news of the enemy. They meet an English herald, King Falcon. "Whence come you?" says the Captal, "and have you any news of the French?" "Yes: by God, Sir," said he, "I left them and their troop only this morning, and they also are looking for you, and are very anxious to find you." "Which way are they?" said the Captal, "Are they this side of the Pont de l'Arche, or on the other side of it?" "In God's name, Sire," said the Falcon, "they have passed Pont de l'Arche, and Vernon, and are now, I believe, approaching Pacy." "And what people are they?" said the Captal, "and what are their leaders? Tell me that, my sweet Falcon." "In the name of God, Sire, they are a good fifteen hundred, all stout fighting men, among them Bertrand Duguesclin, with a numerous body of Bretons," etc., etc. When the herald mentions the Gascons of the Seigneur d'Albret as part of the force, the Captal, who was himself a Gascon, flushed red with rage. "Falcon, Falcon," cried he, "is it true what you say, that those Gascon knights are there and the Lord d'Albret's people?" "Sire," said the herald, "by my troth, yes." "And where is the Lord d'Albret?" "He is at Paris, with the regent Charles, the Duke of Normandy, who is busy preparing for Rheims, for it is the common talk that next Sunday he will be consecrated and crowned there." Then the Captal raised his hand to his head and said in the bitterness of his heart, "By St. Anthony's head, it will be Gascons against Gascons." Thus constituted the rival forces are soon confronting one another, the Captal's army on a hill by a wood, the French in a swampy valley below with the river behind them. The French choose Duguesclin for their leader for the day, and "Notre Dame Guesclin," for their battle-cry; and the Gascons, who formed the rear-guard, chose thirty of their stoutest fighters with orders that they should at all risks make for the Captal and take him prisoner. But they were in an awkward position, the sun very hot, the enemy unwilling to leave their strong position, on the hill, nothing to eat or drink, only a few seigneurs having pocket flasks of wine. Duguesclin

was ready with a suggestion "un parti que je vous dirai." "Let us pretend," he said, "to retire and not be for fighting to-day. Our people tired out and exhausted by the heat, we will send all our attendants, our trappings and our horses right across the bridge in good order to our camp there, and at the same time we'll stay behind and keep our battle formation intact, and see what the enemy will do. If they want a fight, they'll come down from their mountain and seek us out on the level ground. As soon as we see what they are at, if they do what I am saying, we shall be in a position to turn back on them, and so we shall have them at an advantage." All happened exactly as divined by Duguesclin. As soon as the Captal's army saw the French retiring, the valiant Englishman, John Jovel, commanding the leading division of the army, against the advice of his General, sung out to his troop, "On, by St. George, follow me who loves me!" and he was off, sword in hand, and down the hill with part of his force, before the Captal moved. He could not, however, let John Jovel go alone. So, finally, the whole army charged down the hill, and there was a fierce melée in the plain below, with the battle-cries of "St. George Navarre," on one side, and "Notre Dame Duguesclin," on the other. Froissart next recounts the capture of the Captal by the thirty Gascon champions. It appears, however, that the Captal subsequently averred that he was taken prisoner by one of Duguesclin's Bretons. At any rate it was a glorious victory, and the news of it reached the Dauphin on the 18th of May, when he was entering Rheims for his coronation, two days after the battle, and John Jovel was taken prisoner, and died of his wounds, and the King of France gave Duguesclin the County of Longueville-la-Giffart, an appanage of the King of Navarre, in consideration of receiving his captive, the Captal, whom he imprisoned at Meaux. He also named him Marshal of Normandy.

See Plate IV, fol. 71. "The Battle of Coquerel."

It will be noticed that in his picture of the Battle of Coquerel our artist depicts none of the incidents detailed by Froissart. He simply shows us a hill with a fort at the top. Five knights descend on either side, their casques only visible. In front, two bodies of knights on foot charge one another with lowered lances. No insignia of Duguesclin appear, only a blue pennon with fleur-de-lis on one side, and a red pennon with, I think, the arms of Navarre on the other. Altogether an inadequate representation of Duguesclin's greatest victory.

Our next illustration, at the opening of the VIIth Book (line 5328 of the poem), represents the capture of the Tower of Valongnes. The expedition started from Rouen; Valongnes had been a troublesome neighbour; nobody could be in its vicinity without fear of death or capture. "Nulz ne pooit aler qu'il ne fut mors ou pris." So he sallies forth from Rouen "avec plente de gent," the party including all the heroes who survived from Coquerel, and having driven in the garrison, sat down before Valongnes. His reputation had gone before him. "Shut the gates," they cried:

> Car voici ce déable qui cuer a de serpent,
> C'est Bertrand Duguesclin qui raencon ne prent.
>
> For here comes that fiend, with the heart of a snake,
> That Guesclin who never a ransom will take.

So alarmed are they that they agree to surrender on terms. They are to be free to march out with all their belongings. So at daybreak next day they march out, as we should say, with the honours of war, and the French outside cheer vociferously "Tellement que tonnoires n'i fust mie escoutez." But there were eight brave squires who took a different view, and when the garrison retired they barred the gate again and defied Duguesclin, crying out to him from the battlements.

> Sire, or vous en alez
> Trop tempre nous avez moquez et degabez
> Jamais en vo vivant le chastel n'averez,
> Et nous avons des vivres ceens a grant plente.
> De rien ne nous servoient cilz qui en sont alez.
> For de la garnison essilier a tous lez
> Pour le chastel defendre, par foi, sommes assez,
> Ains iert aoust passez que soions affamez.
>
> Be off, Sire, be off, you have mocked us too long,
> For never to you shall this castle belong.
> Of no service to us were those folks that are gone
> Save to eat up the food of the brave garrison.
> For defence of the fort we're enough, by the Rood,
> And till August is over, we're not short of food.

Duguesclin, however, was not to be put off by threats; he pressed the attack vigorously.

> Eschielles vont dressant chevalier escuyer
> Et montoient amont comme chat en grenier
>
> They planted their ladders, both knight and esquire
> Like cats in a granary, aye climbing higher.

So Valongnes was taken that evening:

> A eulx VIII en fist-on les testes detrenchier
> Que jamais n'averont de chapperon mestier.
>
> And they cut off the heads of those eight brave men
> So that none of them needed a helmet again.

See Plate V, fol. 80 v. "The taking of Valongnes."

It will be seen that the artist contents himself with representing a fort attacked from two sides by a force of French, archers from the left, lances from the right. One warrior bears Duguesclin's banner up a ladder. The defenders do their best, hurling down rocks, and shooting arrows. The background is red. There is no question of mining here, nor any reference to the departure of the garrison on terms.

The VIIIth Book opens with a picture of Auray, a decisive combat which ends the feud between Jean de Montfort and Charles de Blois, of which we had the opening scene at the Tournament at Rennes which was held in celebration of the marriage of Charles de Blois with Jeanne de Penthièvre. The Battle of Auray settled that matter by the death of Charles de Blois. Both parties wished it to be a final struggle, and we are told that the word had been given on both sides not to hold to ransom either de Montfort or Charles. At all events on Charles's death, the King of France, Charles V, for this among other reasons called "the Wise," at once recognized the youthful de Montfort as Duke of Brittany, under the name of John IV, and the quarrel of thirty years' standing was settled.

See Plate VI, fol. 90 v. "The Battle of Auray."

Our artist's picture shows a confused melée of mounted knights, two of whom the artist probably meant for the rival claimants, as they both wear the insignia of the arms of Brittany. The battle was won by the skill and prowess of John Chandos, and a party of English warriors whom the Black Prince allowed to volunteer from the Province of Aquitaine. Duguesclin was taken prisoner by one of Chandos's men, and this chapter closes his adventures and achievements in the Brittany war.

PART II

DUGUESCLIN IN SPAIN

THE second episode in the life of our hero is at first sight a little mysterious. Why should so prudent a monarch as Charles V of France embark in so reckless an expedition as the Spanish War. True, Pedro the Cruel (King of Castile since 1350), had insulted the crown of France by the murder of his wife, Blanche de Bourbon, and there was a pretender to the crown of Spain ready to hand in the person of Henri de Trastamare, the illegitimate brother of Pedro. The real, or at all events the chief reason of the expedition was the King's intense desire to get out of the Kingdom the "Grand Companies," as they were called, formidable bands, or rather armies of brigands, who infested all the country districts of France and threatened to become its rulers. These bands were a legacy from the recent civil war, and the plan of the government was to persuade them to make a sort of Crusade against King Pedro and the Jews and Mahometans of Spain, the Jews being the counsellors and friends of Don Pedro, the Mahometans being the Moors, who still occupied the Kingdom of Grenada and were numerous all over Spain. For this purpose a good general was indispensable and the King offered the post to Bertrand, still a prisoner of John Chandos, but soon to be ransomed by King Charles for 100,000 francs. I suppose the King argued the case thus:—By my interference in Spanish affairs I shall reassert the European position of the crown of France and raise my country from the low rank she has taken lately, owing to the disasters of the war with England. If the expedition does not succeed, I shall at all events get rid of the Grand Companies which at present are the scourge of my dominions. Duguesclin has nothing else to do; let him keep his hand in practice as their leader. He is a strong man, and if he can lick his ragamuffins into shape and overthrow Don Pedro, these Grand Companies, now so formidable to my government may become a useful army in the next war with England. The Pope came to the assistance of the Pretender by excommunicating Pedro, and recognizing the claims of Henri de Trastamare to the throne of Castile. We have then, as parties to the quarrel, on one side the King of France, the Pope and the Pretender, on the other the King of Castile with the Black Prince in Bordeaux and old King Edward in London, as no doubt

interested spectators, wishing well to Don Pedro against their real enemy, the King of France.

Duguesclin's speech to the Grand Companies, as given by Cuvelier, is an appeal to the temporal and eternal interests of the brigands. By giving up their lives of robbery and crime in France they will obtain much greater riches from the pillage of Spain, and go to Heaven as Crusaders when they die.

> Je vous ferai tous riches, si mon conseil croyons
> Et aurons paradis aussi quand nous mourrons

> I will make you all rich if you take my advice
> With a good time on earth, after death Paradise.

Then he goes to Paris to the King:

> Sire, dit il au roi, j'ai accompli votre gré;
> Je vous mettrai hors de votre royauté
> Toute la pire gent de tout votre regné.

Or in other words:

> Sire, said he to the King, I have done your commands
> I 'll turn out of the Kingdom these rascally bands.

Jean de Bourbon, as near of kin to the murdered Queen of Don Pedro, was nominal head of the invaders, but Duguesclin was the real leader, his first achievement being the extraction of 200,000 francs from the coffers of the Pope at Avignon, on the plea of the crusade against the Jews and Moors of Spain. This Avignon episode is as amusing as anything in Cuvelier (lines 7474-7722), but it is too long to give here, and my manuscript has unfortunately no miniature in connection with it, as the next picture after the battle of Auray commemorates the surrender of Bernesque.

See Plate VII, fol. 129. "The Surrender of Bernesque."

This was a Castilian city or fortress with an important Jewish population not far from Burgos, and the attack upon it was fierce in the extreme. The miniature representing the surrender of the town shows us a king, seated and crowned, very much as on folio 1, who with left hand raised, receives from two kneeling burghers the announcement of the surrender. On his right stands a man with a gold mace. He wears trunk hose and a short tunic with ample sleeves. On the King's left are two figures which may be men or women, Their heads are covered and

they wear long robes and long pointed shoes and talk together. The background is a green tapestry with a pattern of red centres, surrounded by a circle of white spots, the whole hung on a pink brick wall. Of the two kneeling figures one has a long robe, the other a tunic, and both are bareheaded.

Henri's pennon at last floated victorious on the battlements of Bernesque, and all the Jews who had been captured by Hugh de Calverley were beheaded with the exception of 150, who were converted, and so saved themselves. It will be noticed that Calverley was in the affair with an English force. This arises from the constitution of the Grand Company, which consisted of a very miscellaneous assemblage with many English and many Bretons. Hugh Calverley had joined the force with the consent of the Black Prince. It is curious to find Duguesclin who had just lately been John Chandos's prisoner, inviting his late captor to take part in the Spanish raid. Though Chandos declined, the fact of his invitation shows the *camaraderie* which prevailed in the ranks of contending knights, and that they looked to booty as much as to anything else. Cuvelier states that the raiders numbered 30,000 men, and that they were generally called "la blanche Compagnie" in Spain, because every man wore a white cross, in token of their being Crusaders.

The capture of Bernesque, now Briviesca, so alarmed King Pedro, that he left Burgos and retired to Toledo, where he soon after received the news that Burgos had opened its gates to Henri and that he and his wife had there been crowned King and Queen on Easter Day with great rejoicing.

See Plate VIII, fol. 136. "The Coronation of Henri of Trastamare at Burgos."

The above picture represents the ceremony at which three Bishops assist. The Queen's hair is nicely plaited. The gold crowns and croziers, with other gold scattered about the costumes, goes well with the grisaille colouring of the miniature. The background of the figures is red, the sky behind the church a deep blue. The church is that of "Las Huelgas," just outside Burgos, a famous nunnery where was celebrated also a funeral service in honour of the murdered Queen Blanche.

Our next illustration is of the battle of Nadres. King Henri's reign in Castile was very short. For Don Pedro, reduced to extremity, took refuge in Biscaye, and being in the vicinity of Bordeaux had an interview with the Black Prince, then reigning almost as an independant King

over the Province of Aquitaine. The Black Prince agreed to take his part, and in the spring of 1367, accompanied by John Chandos, crossed the Pyrenees with 40,000 men, calling to his standard the Englishmen of the Compagnie Blanche, who were just as willing to fight for Don Pedro as they had been a few months before to fight against him. The battle took place at Najera, on the right bank of the Ebro, on the 3rd of April, 1367, with the result that the Pretender was totally defeated, and with difficulty escaped capture, while Duguesclin was taken prisoner and held for ransom by the Black Prince.

See Plate IX, fol. 177. "The Battle of Nadres (Najera)."

The artist does his best to show us a well-contested pitched battle, very confused, a melée of knights and foot-men, no bowmen in this deadly fight, but maces, swords, lances and daggers, while a black Moslem trumpeter with a banner of three black heads on a red ground, encourages Don Pedro's motley forces, and Duguesclin's device is borne aloft on the other side. Many emblazoned shields enliven the scene.

The remaining three pictures which adorn our manuscript represent three episodes in the romantic and very varied career of Don Pedro. The first represents the surrender of Tarascon to Henri de Trastamare, which occurred before Duguesclin's ransom was effected. Here, being still on parole, our hero does not fight, but by persuasion induces the inhabitants to surrender. The picture represents the Duke of Anjou coronetted and sitting in his tent; on his right stands a page holding his sceptre, on his left are two courtiers, one an ecclesiastic. A kneeling citizen, behind whom kneel three others offers three large keys.

See Plate X, fol. 210 v. "The Surrender of Tarascon."

The next miniature represents the capture of Don Pedro, and the last of the series shows us his crowned head on a spear-point, held up by the kneeling executioner before King Henri, who is similarly crowned and sits contentedly in his tent.

See Plates XI and XII, from ff. 246 and 250. "The Capture and Death of Don Pedro."

The three thousand lines of Cuvelier's poem which intervene between the capture of Tarascon and the death of Don Pedro contain a somewhat desultory account of the Spanish War and add little to what we know of the personality of Duguesclin. Unfortunately no further pictures

adorn the manuscript. It remains therefore only to record his return to France in 1370, at the urgent request of the King, who needed his help against the English who were threatening Paris. Arrived there he is made Constable of France, and passes ten years in continuous fighting, for the most part successful, against the English who are step by step driven out of the country. In 1380 he falls ill and dies, and is buried by the King's order in the Royal Abbey of St. Denis, among the Kings of France, or, as Cuvelier expresses it, in the version published by M. Charrière,

> Droit au pié de la tumbe où il doit être mis :

Or, as in my manuscript,

> Tout droit aus piez du roy noble couronné.

ERRATUM

On page 5 a coat of arms, which occurs twice in the MS., is attributed to the Crèvecœur family. It really belonged to the de Craon family, the original owner of the book having been probably Pierre de Craon, who followed the Duke of Anjou in his expedition to Naples (1384), but was better known as the would-be assassin of the Constable Olivier de Clisson in 1392.

It should be mentioned also that the miniature on folio 1 of the Duguesclin MS. (here facing the title-page) bears a close resemblance in some of its detail to that on the opening page of the original copy of the Epistle of Philippe de Maizières, Celestin of Paris, to Richard II, King of England, the group of courtiers on the right being almost identical in both pictures. The MS. Epistle of P. de M. (Royal MS. 20 B VI in the British Museum) is dated A.D. 1395-6, and it is not impossible that they may be from the same hand, or at all events from the same workshop.

H. Y. T.

PLATES

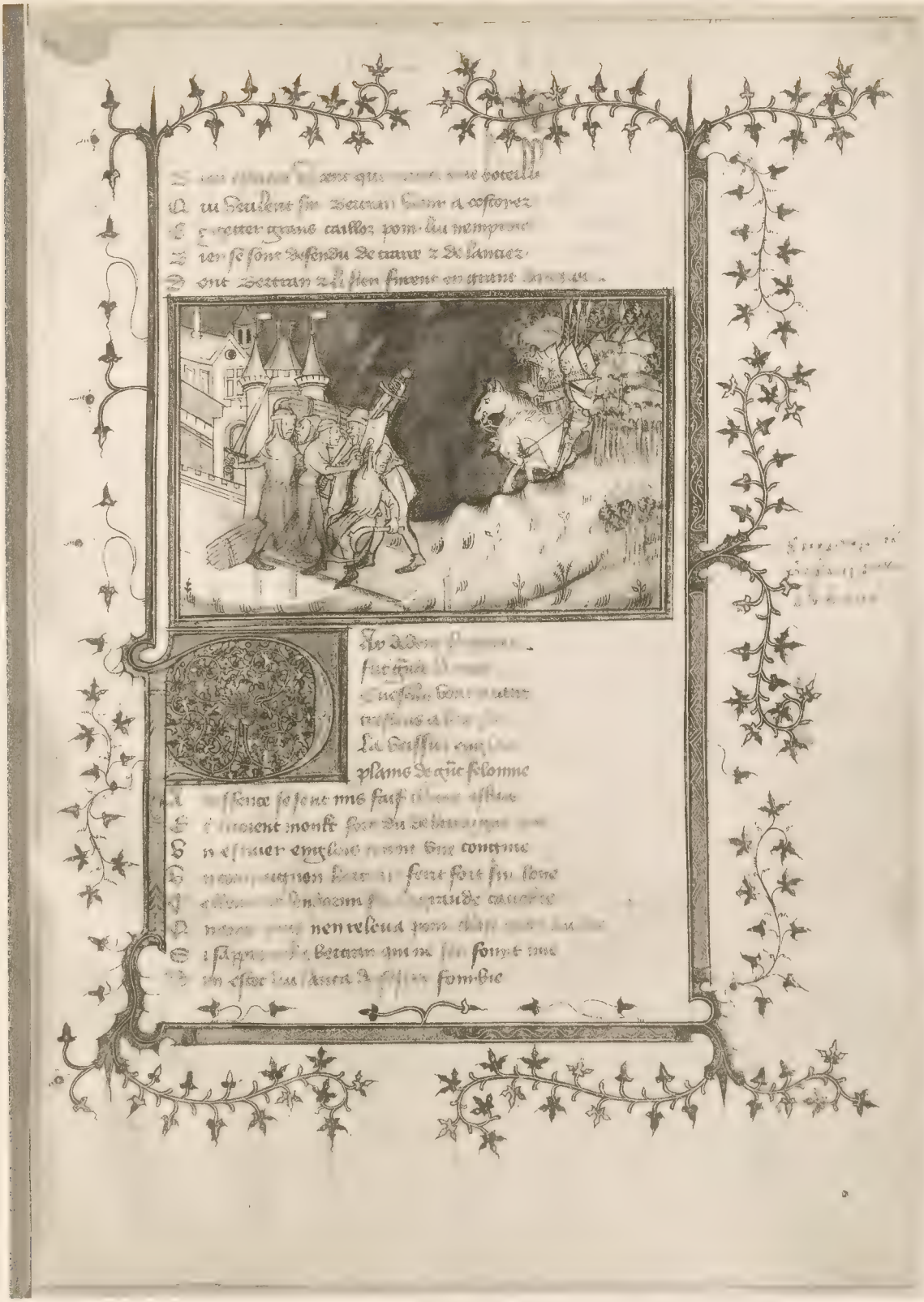

PLATE I, FOLIO 16. THE SURPRISE OF FORGERAY.

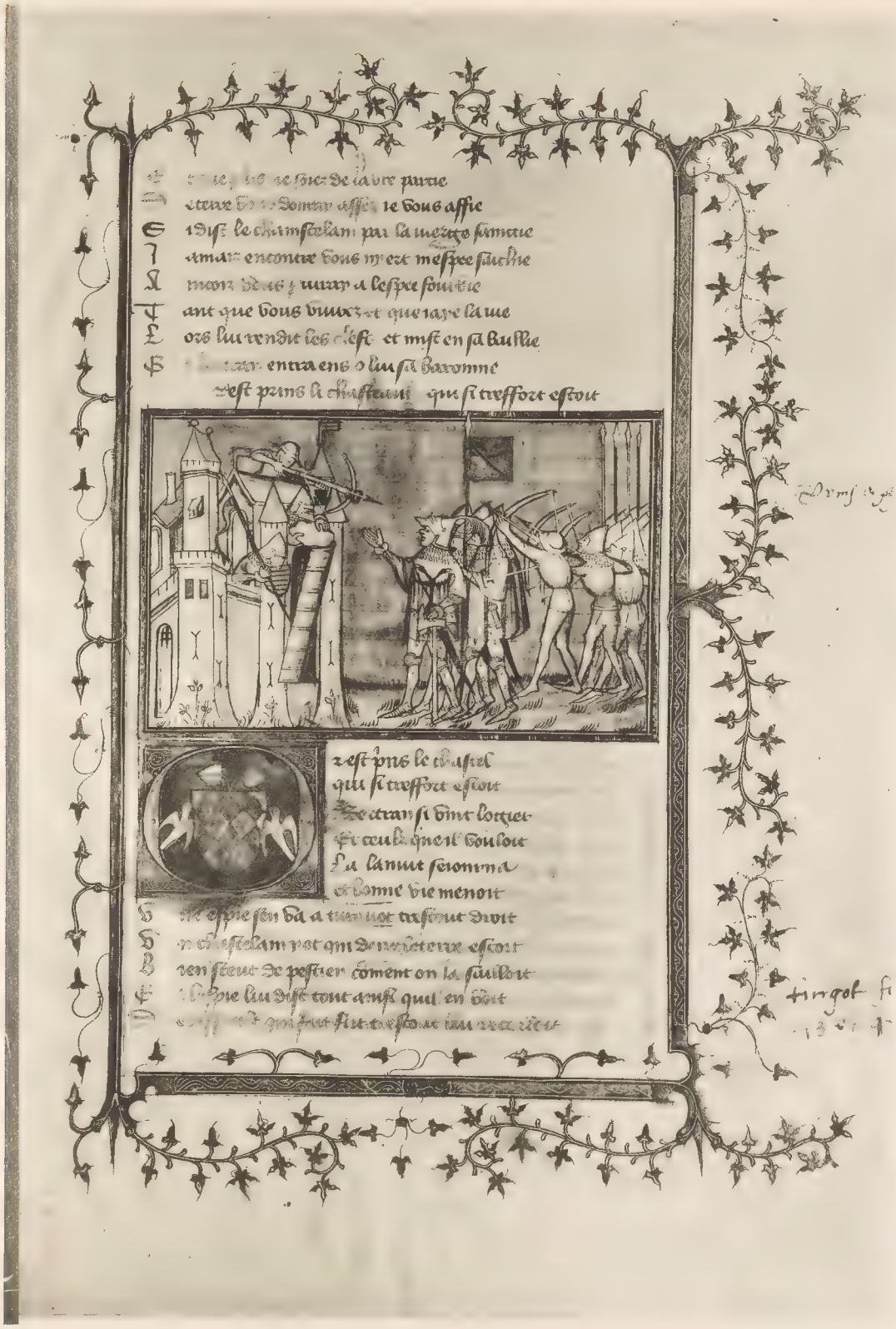

Plate II, Folio 51. The Taking of Pestien.

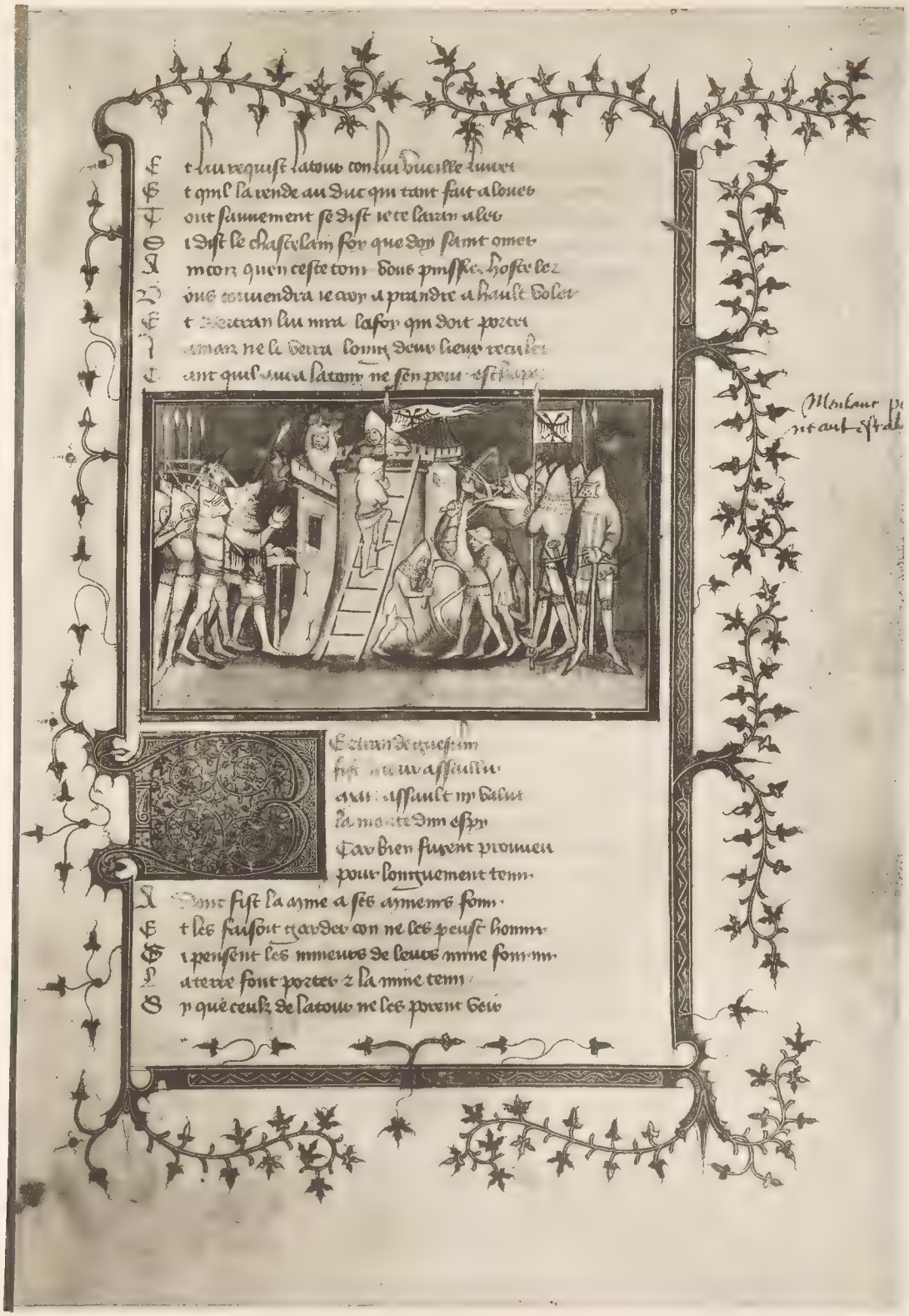

Plate III, Folio 62. The Siege of Melun.

Plate IV, Folio 71. The Battle of Coquerel.

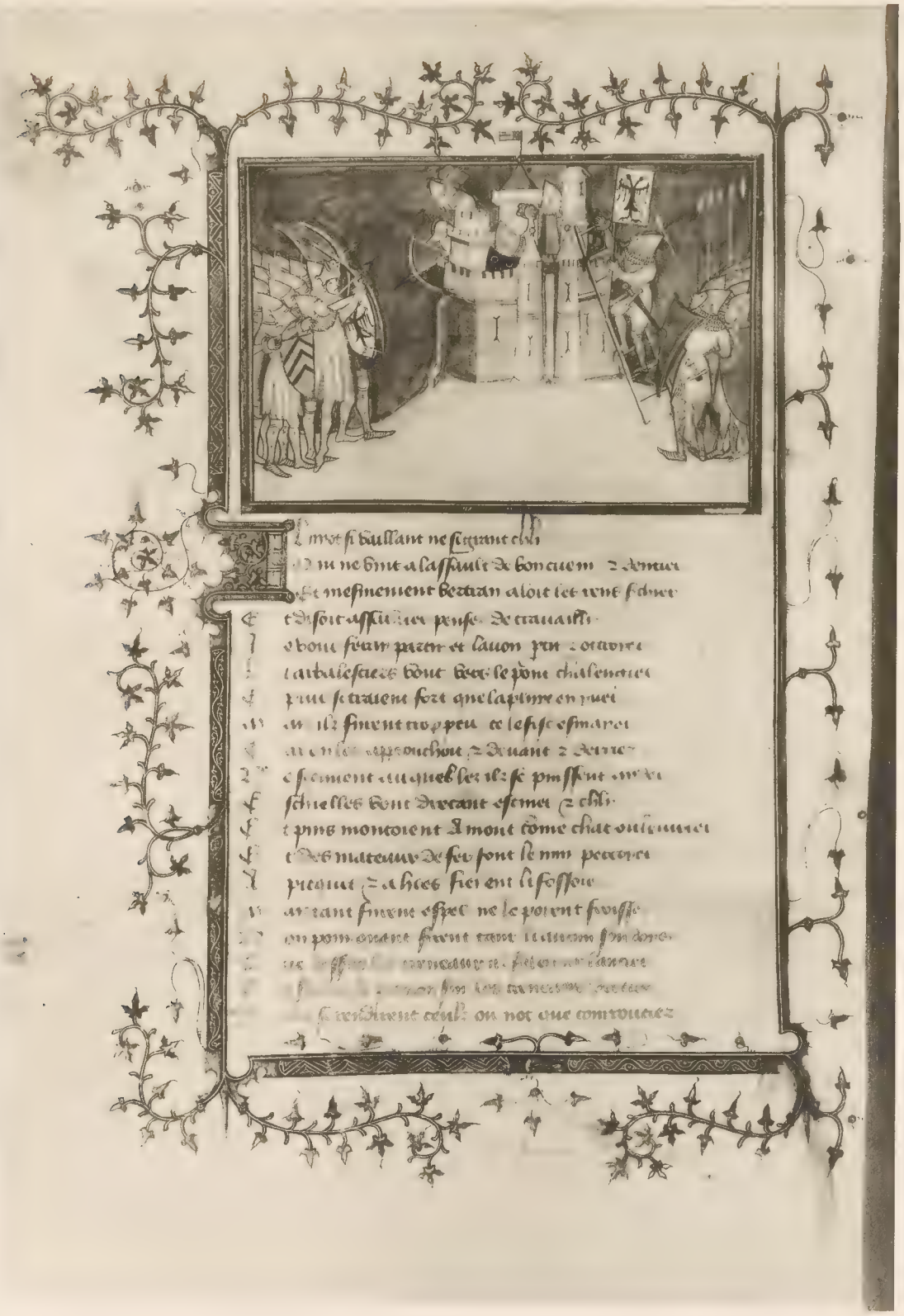

Plate V, Folio 80 v. The Taking of Valongnes.

Plate VI, Folio 90 v. The Battle of Auray.

Et ainsi fut conquise
Bernesque et souffisamment
Et ces gens se rendirent
et ceux a tormement
Tant en fut de morts
en leur encombrement
Que par dessus les morts montoient mengement
Les espaignol se rendent a nostre gent plainement
Argent se sont bien les nostres plainement
Arrot dent bourgon qui monte sur ment dolant
Du de la ville sont ressus hastiement
Deux pieur sen vont chenauchant fierement
Et tant ont esploitie qu'ils vinrent droitement
En la cite de bruts qui grande est durement
Du palais ont trouve dam pieur proprement
Lui ferant de castor qui l'ama loyalment
Et il tenoit sa suem tresamablement
Et de lui espousee lui auoit comenant
Et entrent les bourgon tost et isnellement
Et pieur ont salue bien et courtoisement

Plate VII, Folio 129. The Surrender of Bernesque.

Plate VIII, Folio 136. The Coronation of Henri of Trastamare at Burgos.

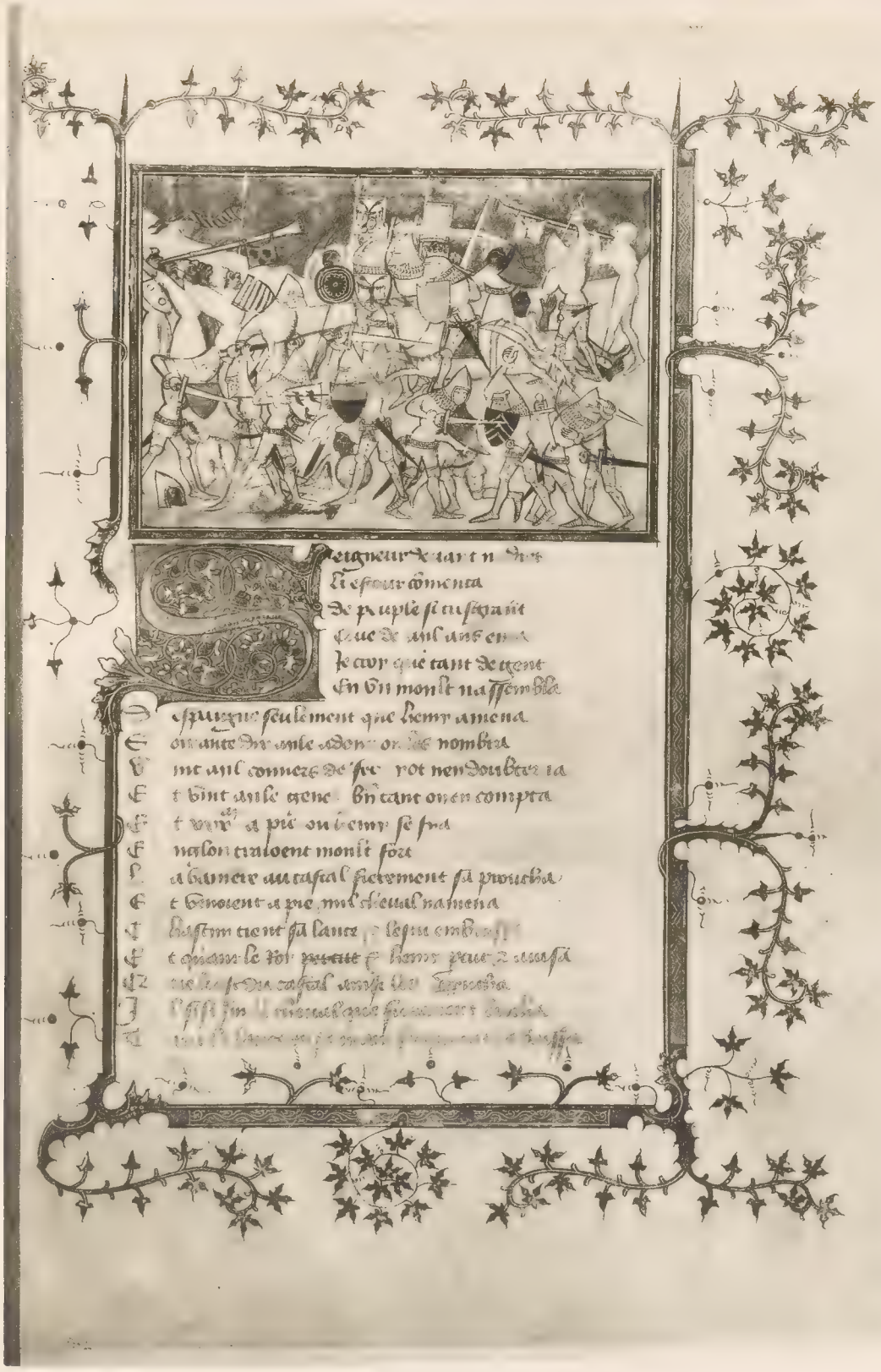

Plate IX, Folio 177. The Battle of Nadres (Najera).

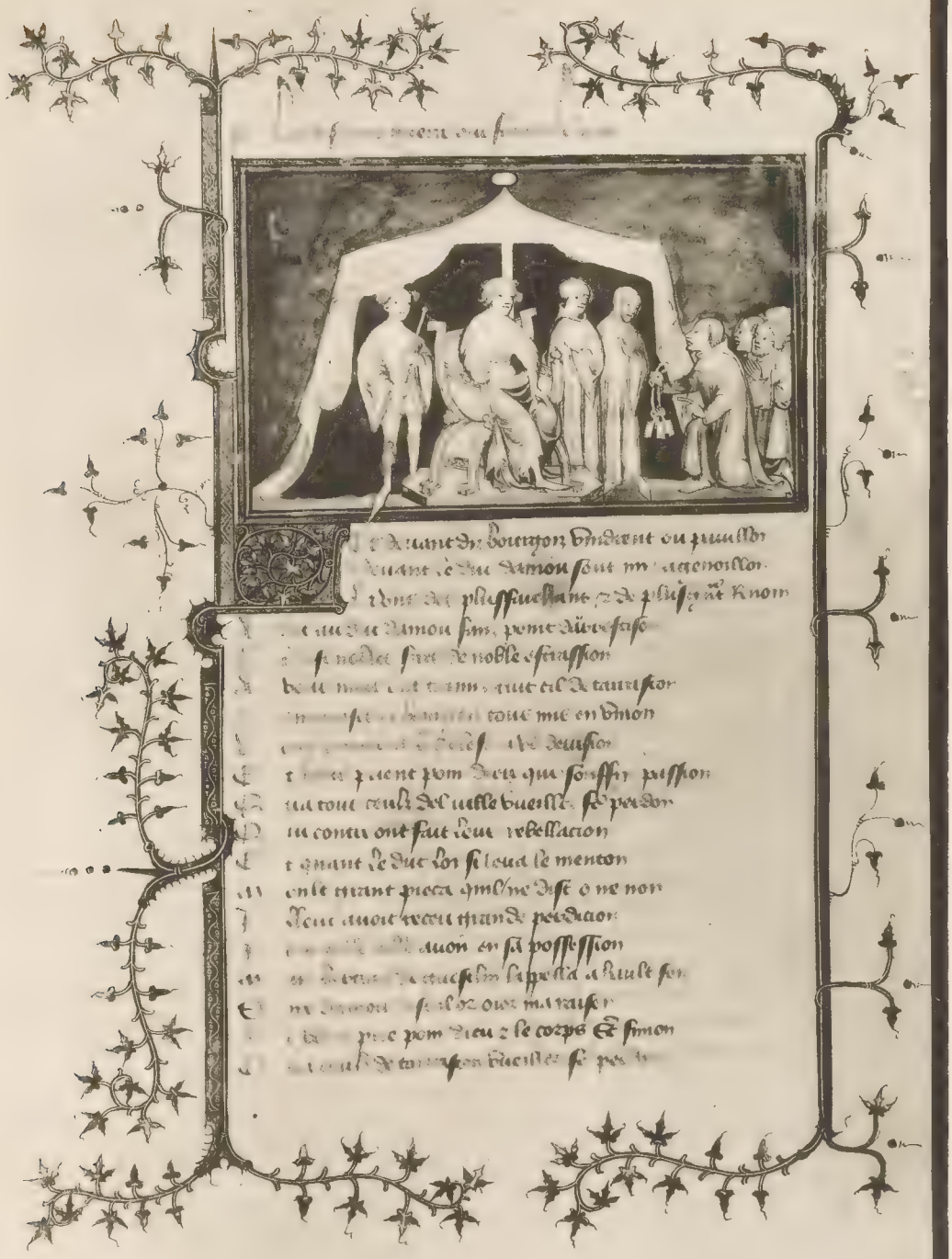

PLATE X, FOLIO 210 V. THE SURRENDER OF TARASCON.

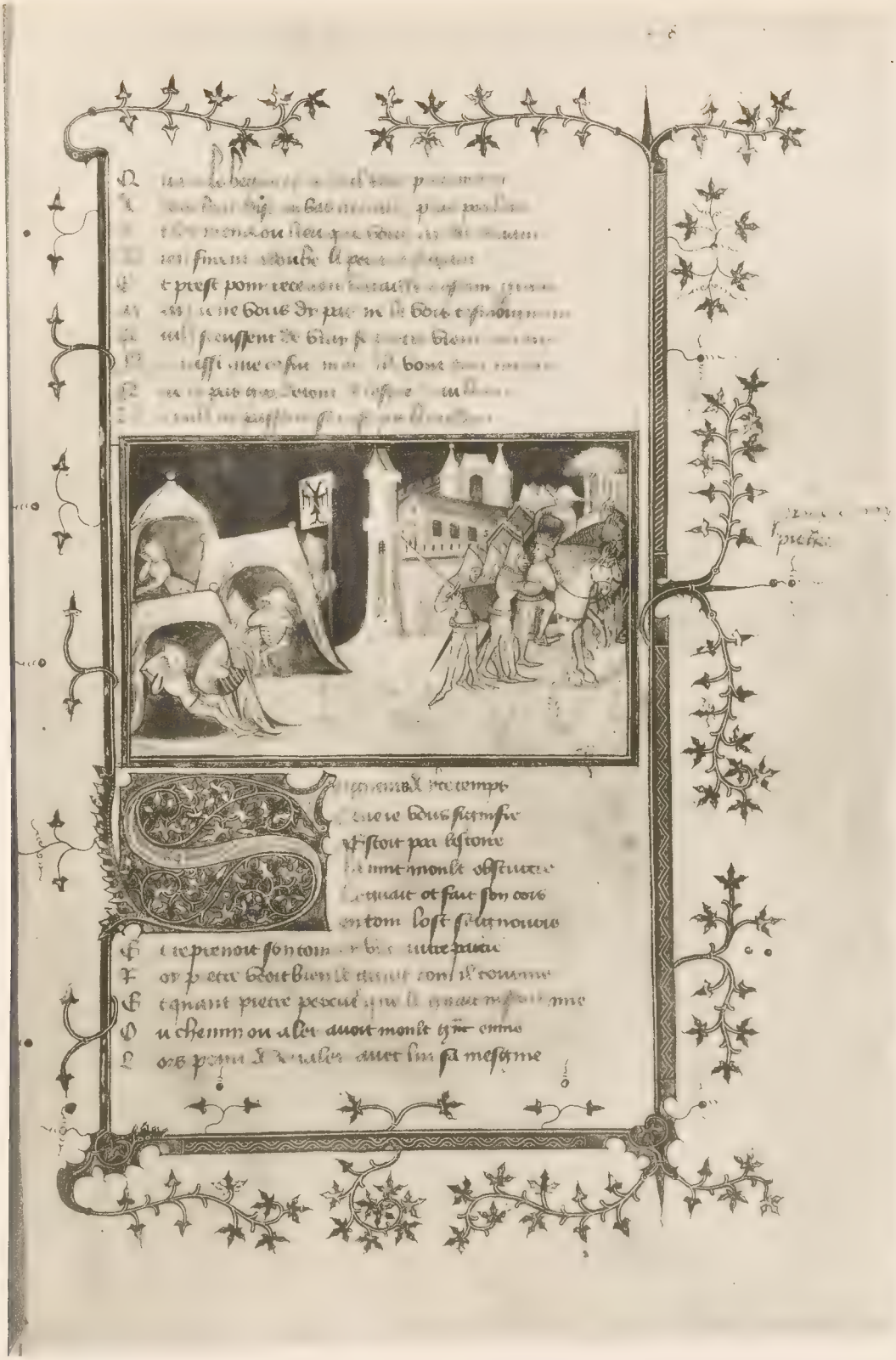

Plate XI, Folio 246. The Capture of Don Pedro.

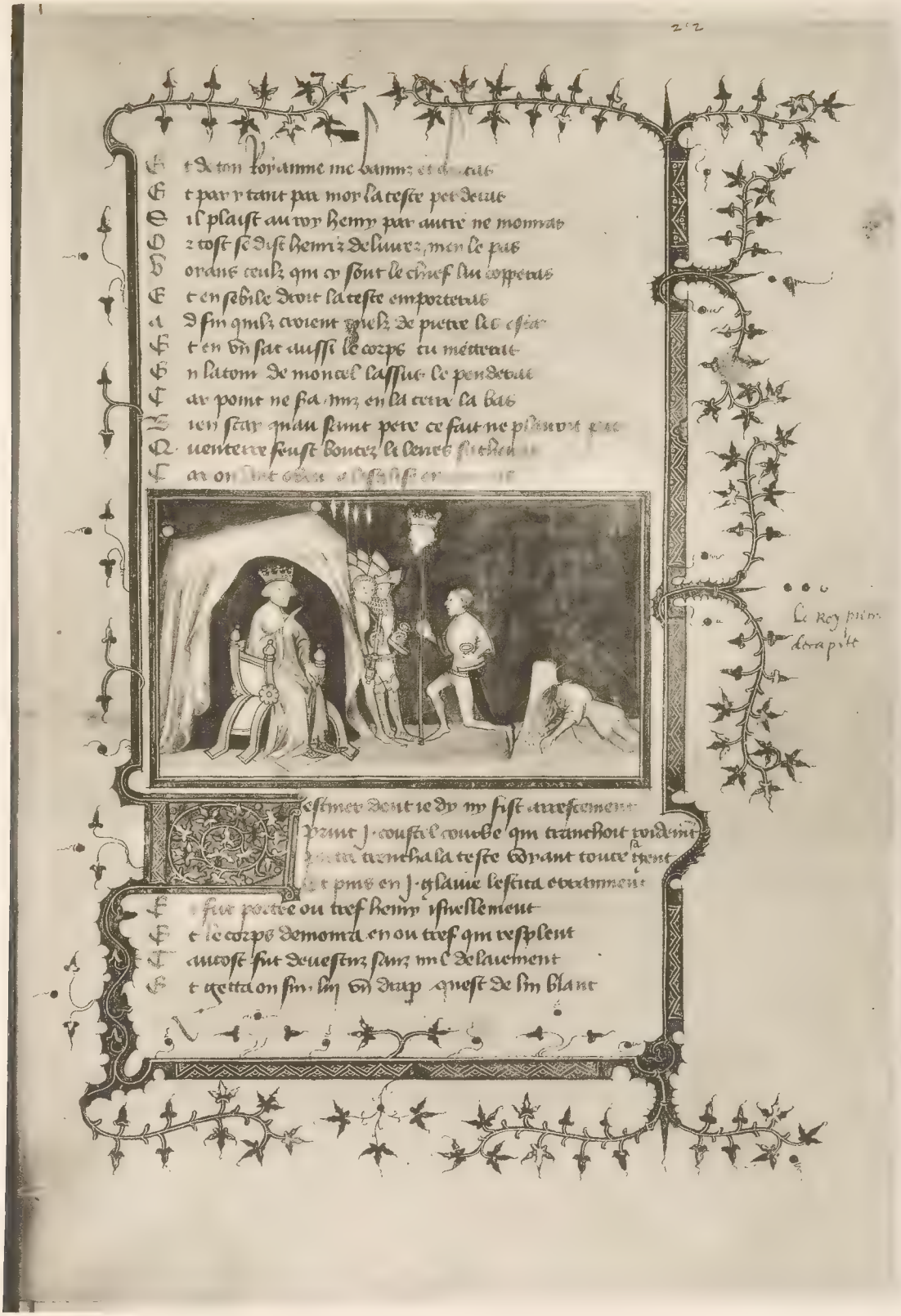

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Plate XII, Folio 250. The Death of Don Pedro.